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many details as possible, although I am far from claiming that my study about Isneg religion and morality has so far been exhaustive or that my knowledge of these subjects cannot be improved upon. A whole lifetime would scarcely be sufficient to disentagle all the intricate knots, the more so that, especially as regards religion, the Isneg are sometimes far from logical in their reasoning.

In religious instruction the *dorarákit* or shaman plays the dominant rôle, as it is she who conducts religious ceremonies, and it is she through whom the spirits and the souls of the dead are supposed to communicate with man. Now let us see in how far the shaman imparts formal instruction, and in how far young people have to learn by merely looking on.

The *dorarákit* directly teaches her pupils by explaining to them the meaning of the rites and ceremonies, at the time of some *sáy-ám* or other sacrifice accompanied by *maxanito*, and almost exclusively on such occasions. Her pupils at the time are first of all the young *dorarákit*, who have been chosen and consecrated mostly when still in their infancy, and secondly all members of the younger generation who are willing to listen. Consequently this kind of teaching is done while the ceremonies in question are under way and it is illustrated by their performance. It is not the place here to enter into details about the ceremonies just referred to; it will suffice to say that the *sáy-ám* is a kind of public sacrifice in which dogs and pigs are offered to the spirits, and that *maxanito* refers to the action of the shaman at the time she is supposed to be possessed either by a spirit or by the soul of a deceased person, who speaks through her mouth. In this the Isneg shaman differs from the Kankanay one; the latter is usually supposed merely to communicate with beings of the other world, to talk to them, while in the case of the Isneg the spirit is supposed to talk through the shaman. Besides, a Kankanay shaman plays a very secondary rôle: she is mostly of use only at the time of sickness, when she has altercations with the spirits who are supposed to cause the disease or when she goes around to look for the *ab-abiik* (Kankanay) or soul, which a sick person is supposed to have lost; while sacrifices, whether public or private, are presided over by men. Let this be enough for the time being.

I just stated that the Isneg shaman explains the meaning of religious rites and ceremonies to her puipls. The manner of conducting these ceremonies, however, is not formally taught: in this respect a young *dorarákit* is a mere looker-on. When the time comes for the

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869 latter to conduct a similar ceremony or to assist her elders at the same, the only aid she will get from some experienced shaman will be an occasional hint as to what she has to do. In general, however, she will already have learned these things on previous occasions, so that she simply imitates now what she has often seen before. The explanations given previously by the older shamans with reference to the meaning of these ceremonies will of course have helped her the better to impress everything upon her memory.

869 I have been told very positively that the prayers or formulas, which
782 are recited on certain occasions, especially in cases of sickness, are
788 never the subject of any direct teaching on the part of the shaman. It is true that the number of Isneg prayers is comparatively small, and that, in general, Isneg recitations, whether in prayer or song, are far from being stereotyped. Some of them, however, especially some formulas more or less in verse or rhyme, which are recited by the shamans while they extract the cause of sickness in the form of iron, herbs, etc., from the body of a sick person, are rather complicated, and as far as I know, of a certain stable and less variable nature.

869 Now how aspirant *dorarákit* are able to learn them without receiving formal instruction, I should say even often repeated instruction, is more or less of a puzzle to me, the more so that these formulas are rarely pronounced distinctly and that many of the terms have become obsolete and are actually meaningless to the natives. Nevertheless, I repeat it, it was told me most positively that they are not taught, that they are simply listened to and picked up. Perhaps what seems very indistinct to outsiders is much less so to the initiated, and probably the rhythm and rhyme help the younger shamans to learn these recitations by heart without too much difficulty. Besides, I know from personal experience that the same regular sequence of sentences or verses is rarely adhered to. Whenever I have tried to write down some of these formulas at the dictation of a shaman, my informant almost invariably inverted the order of the sentences at a second recitation; these women often made me quite nervous, as it was well nigh impossible to write down exactly what they had been reciting. Isneg shamans always talk very quickly when reciting from memory, so I had very often to ask them to repeat a certain part, after I had written down as correctly as possible one or more catch phrases of each verse or sentence; but their second recitation almost never coincided with the first one. Such a state of affairs, of course, makes the task of the recorder doubly difficult, although it may happen to

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lighten that of the young shaman who has to confide these things to memory. Here stops the exclusive rôle of the *dorarákif* or shaman as far as religious instruction is concerned.

Dancing and singing, whether religious or otherwise, are learned by pure imitation. Songs are improvised most of the time; the only exceptions are a few scattered terms and a limited number of sentences, more especially a kind of refrain or burden, that recurs at the end of every verse or every stanza in most Isneg songs. These traditional terms and sentences are mostly archaic, and their meaning is a mystery to at least the generality of the Isneg; perhaps some of them have never had any meaning at all.

All Isneg beliefs, whether they have to do with magic or with religion, whether they refer to the world of spirits or to the state of a person after death, are simply picked up, or, as the Isneg put it, "they hear them (*maxi-náda da*)." This means that there is no formal instruction about the matter. Aged persons, particularly old women, and still more especially shamans, freely talk about these things at the slightest provocation, and youngsters are always eager to listen to them. This, however, does not exclude the possibility and even the probability of the members of the older generation talking about magical or religious beliefs purposely and with the direct intention of telling the children about them. And that such instruction, whether intended or not, is sometimes really very efficacious is proved by the fact that I have had among my informants girls of barely ten years old who know everything about certain spirits and could vividly describe them to me. This is the more easily understood when one remembers that all these extraordinary details agree very well with the usual trend of the Isneg mind toward the supernatural, so that the children experience little difficulty in keeping them impressed upon their memory.

Myths and legends, stories and tales, which by the way are sometimes far from being religious, are mostly related by the parents and grandparents in the evening, when the whole family is stretched out on the floor and ready to sleep. The Isneg are not in the habit of making much use of artificial light, and they very often go to sleep almost at sunset, so that there is usually ample time for the old people to comply with the wishes of the youngsters, who among them as well as among us, are always eager to hear a story, and the more fantastic the story, the better. Even young boys and girls are sometimes invited to play the rôle of story-teller, provided they are known

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to be able to do so; and the same story may be repeated several times all over again on different occasions without the young people losing any interest in the matter.

The cry "*udôdit*" (a story) is heard very often when the young people have placed themselves in a position for slumber, and the exclamation "*udôditko*" (I have a story; literally: my story), emitted by an uninvited story-teller, is usually sufficient to gain him the attention of all present. Consequently Isneg tales are mostly bedtime stories: nevertheless it also happens that they are recited, this time mostly by men, at the opening of a jar of *bási* (alcoholic beverage obtained from the juice of the sugar cane), or rather during the absorption of its contents. On such occasions, whenever an old man begins to tell a story, the youngsters have no sooner got wind of the affair but they leave everything in order to come near and to listen all ears to these wonderful happenings of times gone by or of a world alien to their own. It may sometimes happen also that parents or grandparents call their children or grandchildren together at the time of going to sleep in order to relate to them some traditional myth or legend: in this case, of course, the teaching should be called entirely formal.

How to look for omens and auguries and how to distinguish between good and bad ones are both the subject of almost exclusively direct instruction. Parents and older brothers and sisters are the accepted purveyors of this knowledge, which to the Isneg is absolutely indispensable if he wants to live in peace and beyond the power of malevolent imps and spirits.

E. MORAL EDUCATION

When reading books of travel, especially old ones, written by men who spent a few days at the home of some primitive people, one usually meets with the statement that the latter seem to have no concept of truth and honesty, and one almost always meets with several concrete instances, which apparently prove the truth of that assertion. Not to go too far out of my way, I shall cite as an example a book that has to do almost immediately with the Philippine Islands. We read in the account of Magellan's travels written by Pigafetta that on a certain day, during his famous voyage which led to the discovery of our archipelago, the expedition landed at a place among a group of islands, the inhabitants of which boarded the vessels, laid hands on whatever took their fancy and ran away to hide among the bushes;